1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ramada in preparation for the *fiesta* of that *barrio*. The atrium and the floor of the church are swept, and the altars decorated with flowers and tissue-paper garlands. The figures of the Three Kings, usually a triplet of *santos* at the altar, are placed so that candles may be burned separately to each. A tissue-paper lantern, in the form of a clock, is hung above the door of the chapel.

January 5.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of Los Reyes. At night the chapel is open and women of the *barrio* come to pray. The men of the *barrio* march to the chapel with the rockets to be set off for the *fiesta*, and then go to the house of the *mayordomo* to enjoy the usual bottle of alcohol. At about ten o'clock *Los Pastores*, the boys who come with staffs of bells to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve, dance to the chapel of Los Reyes and there dance and sing before the Magi. The women of the *barrio* are up most of the night grinding corn and squash seeds for the *tamales* to be eaten the next day. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

January 6.—On the day of the *fiesta* the *barrio* of Los Reyes entertains friends from other *barrios* and other villages. Everyone puts on his best clothes. In the morning women come to the chapel to burn candles before the *santos* and to pray. After nightfall a small *castillo*, in the form of a bull, is burned in the atrium of the chapel. The *mayordomos* for next year's *fiesta* are chosen at a meeting just outside the chapel.

January 7.—The *chirimía*, now playing at the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

January 14.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santa Catarina de Zacatepec also falls on January 12, but because it is an important *fiesta* that is attended by people from many villages it is generally postponed until the following Sunday. In such a case candles are also burned before the *santo* on the proper day, which is the "day of the *santo*," while the Sunday on which the celebration is held and the festal dishes eaten is called the "*fiesta* of the *mole*."

Now people are coming to Tepoztlán from Santa Catarina to invite friends to come on Sunday and eat *mole verde* with them. The *cohetero* is building the *castillos*, and the *mayordomos* are superintending the cleaning and decorating of the chapel.

January 16 (*about*).—On the day of the *fiesta* the roads to Santa Catarina are filled with people traveling on foot. They come from Tepoztlán, Cuernavaca, and Yautepec, and from the little villages of San Juan, San Andres, Santiago, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, and Ixcatepec. Everyone wears his best clothes. It is a very important *fiesta;* there will be two *castillos* and three groups of *Apaches*. The yard of the church is soon filled with waiting people. The devout first enter the chapel to offer prayer or to burn a candle. There are men just outside the churchyard gate digging a hole for the pole of the *castillo*.

Before the morning is old *Los Apaches* come from Jalatlaco in the state of Mexico. Like all religious dancers, they come in fulfilment of a pledge to the *santo;* this vow is annually renewed, and each year on

1; Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

incense; behind follow musicians. As they come to the church rockets are discharged.

Then a group of men go to the house of the *mayordomo* of the *castillo* to fetch the *castillo*. This is the occasion for a social half-hour with a bottle furnished by the *mayordomo*. The sections of the *castillo* are brought to the church, also to the sound of rockets, and bound to the pole. The raising of the pole requires a great deal of heaving and shouting; everyone comes to watch, and the event furnishes a climax to the morning. The dancers march off to eat *mole verde* and *tamales* in the houses of the *mayordomos*, and people disperse to share the festal dinner with friends or to buy food from vendors.

At about three o'clock the *castillo* is set off. After dark a *castillo de la noche* is burned. This is the last event, and most people go home.

January 19.—This is the day before the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian. The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel.

Although there are only sixteen houses in the *barrio*, the *fiesta* is an important one, and therefore the "*fiesta* of the *mole*" is commonly postponed until the following Sunday. Including the *cerahpa* and the *castiyohpa*, the *fiesta* may thus last more than a week.

January 20.—This is the day of the *fiesta*. The *chirimía* continues to play. The chapel is open and candles burn before the *santo*.

Saturday, January 23 (about).—In the evening a *castillo de la noche* is burned. A load of *pulque* for the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

will buy up their neighbor's coffee and carry it to Cuernavaca for resale. Many men, having no other work and no savings, have gone to the sugar *haciendas* at Oacalco to work there as day laborers.[1] They do not take their women with them. Sometimes a woman cooks for them all in the camp at the *hacienda*. Sometimes they come back twice a week to Tepoztlán to fetch food prepared for them by their wives. Then twice a week the women spend hours by day and by night grinding on the *metate* to make them enough *tortillas* and *itacates* and *gorditas* to last them three days at Oacalco.

The entire village has its attention directed toward the coming carnival—the most important secular *fiesta* of the valley. Almost everyone in Tepoztlán has some share in it, while those who come to Tepoztlán from other villages come only as guests to enjoy the hospitality of Tepoztlán. The carnival is the supreme co-operative effort of the town. In February the men of San Miguel, La Santísima,[2] and Santo Domingo are organizing the *comparsas* for the masked dancers. Musicians must be hired from larger towns, and the cost of their hire is now apportioned among the members of the *comparsas*. These members, who will leap as *Chinelos* during the carnival, are busy sewing glass beads and mirrors on the huge, laterally flattened *sombreros* which they will wear. Their wives and mothers

[1] This exodus began the second half of December.

[2] The *comparsa* of La Santísima was first organized about three years ago; the other two groups are ancient.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

for use as a remedy for eye trouble. In correct practice the afterbirth is buried in the hearth [*tlequil*]. Ashes are put over it and then the fire is lighted.[1] "Some throw the afterbirth into the *corral* but this is not good because then the mother suffers."

Just before and just after the birth the mother may take an infusion of a plant known as *tlatlantzcametl*.[2] The child is bathed "usually about six hours after birth but always at eleven or twelve in the morning because it is warmer then." Rosemary is boiled with water and put in a washbasin with a small cup of alcohol. As the child is being bathed, still more alcohol is thrown on its head. It is given to wear a shirt of unbleached muslin, a cap or bonnet, and a diaper, and wrapped in a sheet and cotton coverlet. After bathing the child the midwife receives *clemole*, beans, a cup of wine, and a box of cigarettes.

The new mother, who is supposed to stay in bed or at least to remain at home for a month, is cared for during the first week by the midwife, and after that by her own mother. The midwife comes every day and binds up the patient with the *ceñidor*. She makes a doll of rags and ties this against the patient's abdomen. The doll is worn for a month and a half, from the first day on. During the first week the new mother and the midwife, who must eat the same food as her patient, observe food restrictions. For breakfast the mother may not drink coffee, or chocolate, but only warm cinnamon water, which is taken with bread. She may also eat dried meat toasted in the *comal* with a small amount of *chile pasilla*. For dinner some eat nothing but *clemole*, but with washed *chile* and no onion. The patient cannot take food that is very hot or very cold. Milk will chill the stomach. She cannot eat honey, sugar cane, or eggs. During the first two days after the birth the relatives, friends, and neighbors all come to visit. They bring with them pitchers of cinnamon water, or, if it is noonday, jars of *clemole*. After the first three days it is well to give a new mother *necuatole*, which is *atole* of cinnamon made with wild fowl.

[1] Sahagun tells us that the umbilical cord of a girl was so disposed of by the Aztecs.

[2] Unidentified.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

851 mass. This is the *sacamisa*. This is one of the most important occasions in the life of the child. After the mass, there is a celebration at the home of the child, attended by its relatives; *mole poblano*, reserved for the most important *fiestas*, is served.

[574]

753 There are special dangers and sicknesses to which a newborn child or the mother is particularly liable. The dangers from *el espanto* ["the fright sickness," later described] are greater then.

[754] Small children are especially subject to *el daño* ["the evil eye"] and to *los aires* [diseases caused by the evil spirits of the air]. *Ixtlaxolcocoliztli* ["clouds-in-the-eyes-sickness"] is a disease [probably *ophthalmia neontorum*] common to infants. The symptoms are blood and pus coming from the eyes. It is thought to be caused by the presence near the infant of a man or a woman who has recently had sexual intercourse. It may be cured by

755 administering a remedy composed of the umbilical cord of a

[846] boy, that of a girl, some raisins, the leaves of *tzitziquilitl*,[1] and

[824] the flowers of *sauca*.[2] It is also treated with *Sal de Colima*. This salt is ground and then placed in the form of a cross on the child's tongue with the pestle [*tejolote*] which has first been scrubbed with *estrepaco*. If a nursing child vomits, the mother's breasts

853 are washed with an infusion of *tlamatlantli*.[3] Then the child is

[824] allowed to nurse. The mother may take this infusion internally. If a child experiences difficulties during teething, a fly may be

856 caught and boiled with cumin seed. A little of this administered to a baby will make its teeth come out.

If the mother dies, a wet nurse [*nodriza* or *chichina*] is sought.

853 "She earns twenty *pesos* a month and her food." If the family

[465] cannot afford a wet nurse, they give sweetened milk flavored

[262] with chocolate, cinnamon, or coffee. "But then the child usually dies."

Children are nursed by the mother for two years or more, although milk is early supplemented by adult food. Food given

[262] in early life is bread, *tortillas*, milk, beef, bean soup, and macaroni soup. All bananas, except the large, long variety, are considered harmful as causing constipation. Rice is bad for the same

[1] *Bidens leucantha* (L.) Willd.

[2] *Sambucus mexicana* Presl.

[3] *Solanum madrense* Fernald.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo* also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it. Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with *mole poblano* ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the father in control over and responsibility for the child, is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. The details of family relationships among the Aztecs are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Independence, self-reliance, and a strong sense of privacy are among the cherished values of Tepoztecan family life. Relations with the extended family are limited; there is a reticence in borrowing and calling upon others for help and, by the same token, reticence in giving help. Yet, in times of emergency a Tepoztecan turns most often to relatives, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, godparents, and *compadres*. Favors are carefully remembered and usually returned. There are no formal councils of the extended family, but relatives are generally well informed about one another and there is much gossip and unsolicited advice. Visiting among relatives is infrequent and for the most part is limited to special occasions, such as the annual barrio fiesta, illness, births, weddings, and deaths.

THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSE SITE

There are 662 occupied house sites in the village. Most sites contain a single house but some have two, three, and four. The number of persons per house site ranges from 1 (45 cases) to 17 (1 case). The distribution of persons per house site is shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10. Distribution of Persons per House Site.

No. of Persons	No. of House Sites
1	45
2	82
3	76
4	76
5	68
6	80
7	78
8	60
9	55
10	20
11	10
12	7
13	2
14	1
15	1
16	0
17	1
Total	662

Smaller households predominate over larger ones, reflecting the fact that most households consist of the biological family. The large number of house sites occupied by a single individual is very striking for this peasant community. It reflects the weakness of the extended family and reminds us of conditions in the urban centers.

An analysis of the kinship composition of each of the house sites is shown in Table 11.

It can be seen from Table 11 that over seventy per cent of all house sites are occupied by the biological family. When a niece or nephew lives with the family, it is almost always because the child was orphaned or abandoned. Such a child

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling cornerib are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[8]

The *cuescomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[8] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33-34.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

is to provide women with an excuse for visiting each other, and that it has extended their social life.

There are less than a dozen battery-operated radios in the village, and most of them have been purchased since 1944. There are also about 44 spring-driven phonographs.

DIET

As in rural Mexico as a whole, the basic diet of the people of Tepoztlán consists of corn, beans, and chile. Squash, which was reported by Redfield to be an important element in the food complex of Tepoztlán, is not part of the regular daily diet and is eaten only a few months of the year. The proportion of corn, beans, and chile in the diet varies sharply from family to family and depends upon the season, income, and food habits of the family. The consumption of corn, which is the major food staple, ranges from 10 per cent to as much as 70 per cent of the family diet. In general, the poorer the family, the higher the proportion of corn, beans, and chile in the diet.

Yellow corn is most commonly used in Tepoztlán, but blue and white corn is also locally grown and used. Corn is most frequently eaten in the form of tortillas and occasionally in the form of *atole* (gruel). Tamales made of corn dough are eaten at certain fiestas; corn *pozole* and corn *pinole* are known but are not characteristic foods in this village. The preparation of the corn dough or *nixtamal* with lime is the same in Tepoztlán as in other parts of Mexico. There is a wide variety of beans in Tepoztlán, but the most commonly eaten are red kidney beans cooked with lard, chile, and sometimes tomato and onion. Green chile, ground with onion and tomato, is prepared daily as a sauce to be eaten with tortilla and whatever other foods are served. *Chile pasilla*, a large dried red chile, is more expensive and is generally reserved for use in the fiesta *mole* sauce.

The basic diet is supplemented by many other foods which are either locally cultivated, gathered wild, or purchased in the stores and market place. Among the foods used in Tepoztlán are the following:

zapote	beans	honey
banana	avocado	spices
orange	hog plum	herbs
lemon, lime	*chirimoya*	beef
grapefruit	*mamey*	pork
chayote	papaya	chicken
manzanillos	mango	turkey
tomato	squash	milk
sugar cane	peanuts	eggs
pitos	coffee	cheese
acacia seeds	prickly pear	clotted cream

The fields, forests, and mountain sides provide many free foods the year round. There are several varieties of wild edible greens, which are important in that they

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we have money we eat, when we don't, we don't" is an oft-heard statement. The leanest part of the year for the majority are the three or four months preceding the harvest. During this time, many families are reduced to minimum quantities of tortilla, beans, and chile as steady fare or even merely *tortilla con sal* (with salt).

Before fiestas many families pull in their belts and eat less in order to sell their corn, beans, eggs, and chickens to get cash for new clothing, for the fiesta meal, and for spending money. The best eating occurs just after the harvest, and on fiesta days when *mole* made with chicken or turkey and rice and beans is served. Other irregularities of consumption are due to the seasonal availability of fruits and vegetables. Also, if the family trees produce poor *ciruelas*, papayas, or wormy mangos, it means that the family goes without these foods. The locally grown oranges, grapefruits, and lemons are normally inferior in quality and quantity.

Meat consumption rises during the dry winter months when pasture is scarce and cattle are slaughtered. Eggs are generally eaten only by men, especially during the planting season when work is most intense. Chicken and turkey are delicacies which are reserved for fiestas, weddings, baptisms, and birthdays. With the exception of the wedding feast, which is socially obligatory and served by rich and poor alike, many families must forego serving fiesta meals, sometimes for years on end, and partake of them only when invited by other families. Game is not eaten extensively, and the few men who hunt do so only when there is no other work, mostly during the dry season.

The correlation between diet and wealth is a positive one, in that the wealthier a family is the better it tends to eat. Its meals are larger and contain more variety throughout the year. But differences in the diet of the rich and poor consist principally in differences in the amount of food eaten, and in the relative frequency with which a family can afford to eat the more desirable of the locally known food types. There are no class differences in food quality, in food types, or in ways of preparing dishes. The better-to-do have no special recipes, no unusual ways of cooking, no exotic foods which are unknown to the poor.

Many of the wealthier families, because of custom and habits of thrift, do not always eat the newer foods, such as bread or canned fish, nor do they necessarily indulge in luxuries like milk, eggs, chicken, sweets, fruits not locally produced, or out-of-season foods except for fiestas. In fact, it is commonly said in Tepoztlán that the rich are too miserly to eat any better than the poor. Whatever the reason, there is an underlying homogeneity in type of foods eaten; and if all families were equal financially, there would be much more uniformity in diet than at present. It is not wealth, but education or degree of acculturation, which is beginning to create real differences in diet.

Tepoztecan families normally eat three meals a day, although many remember eating only twice a day before and during the Revolution, because of poverty. It is seldom that the entire family eats together, and often there are no fixed hours for meals. The father and older sons eat together in the morning before they go to the fields and in the evening when they return. If the field is at a great distance, the

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

262
556
735
511

TABLE 48. Typical Weekly Food Budget, 1944.

Food	Family I (Well-to-do, 4 Adults)		Family II (Poor, 2 Adults, 7 Children)	
	Quantity	Cost in Pesos	Quantity	Cost in Pesos
Corn	10½ *cuartillos*	2.94	13 *cuartillos*	3.64
Beans	1¼ *cuartillos*	1.12	1½ *cuartillos*	1.02
Lard	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00	¼ *cuartillo*	1.00
Green chile	½ *cuartillo*	.25	Over ½ *cuartillo*	.35
Lime (for tortillas)		.10		.05
Coffee	¼ *cuartillo*	.25	⅛ *cuartillo*	.35
Sugar	2 kilos	.90	⅛ kilo	.35
Salt	About ½ kilo	.20	⅛ kilo	.35
Tomatoes (green)		.50		.35
Tomatoes (red)	1 *cuartillo*	.60		
Eggs	1½ dozen	2.80		
Milk	10½ liters	6.30		
Meat	1½ kilos	3.00	⅛ kilo	.20
Bread		4.20		.15
Rice	1 kilo	.50	About ½ kilo	.20
Noodles		.70		.20
Cheese	1 kilo	1.80	¼ kilo	.45
Vegetables		1.75		.45
Fruits and sweets		3.00	Peanuts and acacia seeds	.05
Wild greens			3 times a week	1.50
Total		31.91	Total	10.66

[574]

TABLE 49. Fiesta Meals.

Family I[a]		Family II[b]	
Occasion	Cost of Food	Occasion	Cost of Food
June:		June:	
Son's Saint's Day	25.00	Barrio Fiesta	6.35
August:		Mother's Saint's Day	1.05
Barrio Fiesta	15.00		
October:		November:	
Daughter's Saint's Day	20.00	Day of the Dead	5.00
November:			
Day of the Dead	25.00	February:	
December:			
Christmas		Eldest Daughter's Saint's	
The Posadas	70.00	Day	31.25
February:			
Fiesta of La Candelaria	30.00		
Total	185.00	Total	43.65

[a] The fiesta meals of this family always include the traditional appropriate dishes and an abundance of sweets, fruit, and drink.

[b] The fiesta meals of this family generally consist of extra meat. This year, for the first time, the family had a birthday celebration for a child. It was for the purpose of inviting her godparents, who are also her employers. Three chickens were served with *mole* sauce and rice. There was also pulque, lemonade, and fruit on this occasion.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

castillo, in the shape of a bull, is most often used. Entertainment may also be supplied by a *jaripeo*, which is a type of rodeo devoted to a display of roping and mounting bulls. Music may be supplied by a band of hired musicians, and some fiestas include groups of religious dancers. Finally, all in the barrio, except the poorest families, prepare a meal of *mole* and other festal dishes and entertain visitors from other barrios or villages. Those who participate in a fiesta, dress in their best clothing, often purchasing new clothing for this annual occasion.

Barrio fiestas and some village-wide fiestas are supported by popular subscriptions which are more in the nature of voluntary taxes. The *mayordomo* of each fiesta collects the money in a ceremony called the *Moxotlaloyan y Cerapah* at the place where the money for candles for the church is paid. A similar payment is made for the *castillo*, either at the same time or, in some cases, in a separate ceremony called the *castillopah*. This ceremony is usually held one day after the fiesta so as to collect the *limosna* a year in advance. The amount paid is generally fifty centavos, or one peso, according to how much had been promised to the *santo* the year before. The people, who had been reminded earlier of the coming payment by the *huehuechique* or *limosnero*, convene at the *mayordomo's* house to leave their money. Upon payment, each receives a portion or two, according to the amount contributed, of *mole verde*, tamales, and a drink called *tepache*.[8] Contributions are carefully recorded and there have been few cases of misuse of these funds.

The calendar of religious fiestas is a typical Catholic calendar which includes moveable and fixed fiesta days. The dates upon which many of the fiestas fall are calculated from the key date, Ash Wednesday.[9]

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

Just as the cycle of religious fiestas in Tepoztlán follows Catholic practice, with some local modifications, so does the individual Tepoztecan. Only a few persons, mostly women, in the village fulfill all the ritual and other obligations set by the priest and church. These people are looked upon by the rest as fanatics who are "always dressing the saints." The priest does not consider his flock to be "good Catholics." The older people maintain a respectful passivity toward most church activities, while the adult males and many older youths, although not irreligious, tend to scoff at the nuns, the Acción Católica and other "fanatics." Among these recalcitrants there is much more interest in the barrio fiestas and one or two of the nearby village fiestas than in the regular daily and weekly religious acts which are required of them. On the other hand, the nuns and the religious associations tend to emphasize the latter. The school, too, so far unsuccessfully, discourages attending fiestas because of the disastrous effects upon school attendance. Regular participation in church ritual is associated with becoming "more cultured." Those who go to boarding schools or who have occasion to live in Mexico City for some time

[8] This ceremony has been described in detail by Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 99-100.

[9] See Appendix D, "Fiesta Calendar of Tepoztlán," p. 458. For a more detailed description of the fiestas, see Redfield's chapter, "A Tepoztecan Book of Days," in *Tepoztlán*, pp. 83-132.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

After the birth of the child, the mother is visited by the midwife every day for eight days, to be massaged and rebound. The massaging of the abdomen is considered important because it encourages the flow of blood and "cleanses" the mother internally. The appearance of clots of blood in the flow is taken to be evidence of the need for massaging. It is believed that if the mother does not receive massages, her abdomen will continue to protrude. The midwife also bathes the baby daily during her visits. The day after the birth of the child, close relatives usually come with jars of suitable food for the mother. A week or two later, aunts, uncles, and cousins may come bringing food for the mother and perhaps soap for the baby. In some families, because of ill feeling between in-laws, one side of the family may stay away. If the new mother has not been properly married or is not approved, she may receive no visits from her husband's or her own family. One young woman from a small outlying village, who had recently married into the village of Tepoztlán, received no visits from her husband's family at the birth of her first child; they regarded her as an outsider and disapproved of the marriage. Many women remain resentful for years at relatives who do not visit them at this time.

The mother is expected to stay in bed for from thirty to forty days. Those who cannot do this stay in bed for at least fifteen days; anything less is considered gross neglect. During this period the mother is urged to lie quietly on one side with her legs close together and her knees bent. Once or twice a day her husband or mother-in-law turns her over on her other side. Some women do not lift their heads at first but drink through a straw. During the first eight days, a new mother should remain behind the curtain because she is in a "delicate" state. She is not to be visited by anyone who has been to a wake or funeral because that visitor may carry a *mal humor* which causes "cancer" in menstruating women.

The *temascal*, which is still widely used even by those women who go to doctors, is usually given after eight days, though some midwives give it after fifteen days. (See Fig. 53.) Most women do not take their first *temascal* until after bleeding has stopped. Before the *temascal*, the mother, midwife, and other women of the house may also bathe and eat *clemole*—a dish made of chicken or beef, with the bone cooked in washed, ground chile *pasilla* and a piece of *epazote*. The mother eats only the meat, for the chile sauce is "cold" and bad for her. She eats at this time to give her strength for the ordeal of the *temascal*, for some women faint or vomit from the extreme heat. Unmarried mothers sometimes do not use the *temascal* but bathe at home after twenty days in bed. A few younger women do not like the heat of the *temascal* and bathe in warm water in which some rosemary has been boiled. On the day of the *temascal*, the midwife, for the first and only time, must limit her diet to what the mother eats. A fire is made in the *temascal*, and a large can of hot water is placed there. Leaves of white *zapote* are placed on the floor, and a small bundle of these leaves are tied together to form a brush.

The mother is well wrapped and is traditionally carried to the *temascal* on the

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

than spend the time and energy in walking. A count made on a Wednesday in July 1956 showed that 84 vehicles entered the village and 94 left it between 5 A.M. and 9 P.M. Thirty-six percent were buses which ran about two times an hour in both directions (to and from Cuernavaca), 41 percent were passenger cars, and 23 percent were trucks. The trucks carried various products—corn, pigs, plants, beer, gravel, groceries, soft drinks, and petroleum. A similar count made on a Sunday gave a total of 373 vehicles entering and leaving. The buses carried approximately 800 passengers during the day.

In 1943, the number of radios in the village was only three or four; by 1956 it had risen to eighty, battery operated, for electricity had not yet come to the village. The owners were mainly under forty; older people showed little interest in radios. Most of them had been bought in Cuernavaca since 1950 at prices ranging from 400 to 3,500 pesos. They were intended chiefly for family use but their presence has increased visiting and sociability among the younger people. The listeners are usually not program conscious. Whenever they want to listen to something, they turn the dials to whatever sounds good. *Ranchero* music is the most popular attraction, news a secondary item. Major obstacles to the further use of radios have been lack of money and the absence of electricity, which meant trouble and expense in keeping the batteries charged. About 15 percent of the sets were not working in July 1956 because the batteries had run down. Tepoztecans who had relatives or *compadres* among bus drivers could have their batteries installed in a bus for a day and so have them charged without cost.

In 1956, as part of a federal government project to improve communications, a telephone exchange was installed in a small grocery store in Tepoztlán. Six phones were listed for the village in the Cuernavaca directory, almost all of them for local businesses. Storekeepers can now make orders, politicians can arrange meetings, and in emergencies ambulances and doctors can be reached by phone. During the day, calls are sent and received through the central office; at night, when the central office is closed, calls go to the *Posada*. The grocer charges 50 centavos to call someone to the phone, provided they live near the center of the village. During my stay in the village in 1956 a few calls from Hollywood were received by the village government—arrangements for the filming of another movie in Tepoztlán were in process!

Tepoztlán now has a movie, operated by a villager who had been a *bracero*. The movies are shown on week-ends from October to May in one of the large rooms of the municipal building which seats about 300 people. The movie business is an insecure one in Tepoztlán, however; it cannot always successfully compete with the fiestas. Most of the films are Mexican cowboy and war pictures which appeal to young people. Adults over forty do not frequent the movies and most of the peasants do not permit their daughters to attend.

Despite the higher educational level, greater travel, and the increase in radios, our data suggest that there has been no increase in the number of people who read newspapers. On the contrary, there seems to have been some decline since 1943. In 1956, only about twenty-five individuals read a news-

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

794 observed that on many days, a small group of people, mostly [796] women, gathered in the late afternoon, lighted the candles on the main altar, and said the Rosary, singing hymns between each decade. In this they were usually led by an elderly woman cantora who also sang the responses when a sung Mass was offered in that chapel. Thus she formed a kind of bridge between the high tradition of the formal Church and the low tradition of the barrio activities. One noticed the independence [793] of barrio folkways, although as has been noted, the pastor considered that no official barrio chapel activity was in existence save through his permission, and in this the folk appeared to concur.

It was our observation that in both the main Church and in the barrio chapels, the priest directs the parish in terms of the [796] expectations of the high tradition. The Forty Hours Devotion, which is regularly observed in all dioceses and archdioceses of the Catholic Church is observed annually in Tepoztlán, sometimes in the barrio chapels, sometimes in the main church. [793] If a new devotion is to be introduced, the pastor must give his 776 permission. This was illustrated in the fact that although there 778 is evidence of great devotion to the Virgin under the title of Our Lady of Guadalupe, there is also devotion to her in this vil- 794 lage under the guise of Our Lady of Fatima. Pictures of the Fatima apparition were found in the parish Church and in every one of the barrio chapels. It was learned that this devotion was introduced by a local layman, who with the pastor's permission, gave the pictures and spread the devotion. His interest was extended among the barrio folk so that in San Miguel Chapel, a statue of Our Lady of Fatima was purchased with funds collected in the barrio. This bore out the previous studies which [621] showed that there is considerable rivalry among the barrios, and that there is a need for each to distinguish itself in some way, thus bringing it into prominence among the village folk.

796 A practice which is deeply rooted in religious custom and human observance from time immemorial is that of the eating 574 of symbolic food. This was observed in Tepoztlán in the formal Church as well as in the barrio chapels at the time of fiestas in

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the reception of Holy Communion. As a part of the social celebration, special foods are also prepared, and there is general feasting. A humble resident of San Pedro invited us to visit again at fiesta time, explaining that "the fiesta is good, as there is much beer and punch". This social feasting was observed particularly in the barrio of Santa Cruz both preceding and following the Solemn High Mass at noon, which marked the climax of the fiesta. Padre Rojas was the celebrant, assisted by two priests visiting from Cuernavaca, one of whom delivered an eloquent sermon on the meaning of the occasion. The large congregation present responded with deep feeling which was expressed in various ways. The loud ringing of bells both inside and outside the chapel, together with the setting off of fireworks at the Consecration, were among the unusual features of this expression. This is a folk practice which obtains in all of the barrio fiesta celebrations.

There appears to be some confusion among scholars about folk practices among Catholics which relate to medical superstitions. In Tepoztlán we found that there are still several curanderos, or folk doctors, who practice rather extensively, although there is a young physician resident in the village who is a graduate of the University of Mexico's School of Medicine; and a free Public Health Clinic is in daily operation. It is difficult to separate some of the practices of the curanderos from magical or religious meanings. Frazer has suggested that much of the Aztec sacrifice and ceremonial is magical, but not religious.

One of the chief curanderos of Tepoztlán has seven wives, and is quite wealthy. He is a colorful character, having a certain degree of importance and prestige. Many people whose Catholicism ranges from formal to folk, patronize him in preference to going to the local physician. Yet his marital status is not approved by the formal Church, and his Catholic "patients" do not think of him in terms of his private interpretation of marital life, but rather as one who possesses special knowledge which will help them to overcome infirmities. Julian Pitt-Rivers has described a similar situation in an Andalusian village of